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[302] earlier paragraphs (pp. 184-189); these symbols evidently represent an exclusively maternal organization into clans consecrated to sole tutelaries. The tutelaries, or totems, together with the clan names and all personal designations connected with the totema, are highly esoteric, and were not ascertained save in the few cases mentioned above.¹

593 It should be observed that the identification of kindred by the alien observer is difficult and somewhat uncertain, since the relationships recognized in Seri society are not equivalent to those customary among Caucasians. It was found especially difficult to identify the husband
[582] of the jacal, partly because he is commonly incongruously younger (and hence relatively smaller) than the mistress, and partly because of the undignified position of outer guard into which he is forced by the tribal etiquette. Moreover, his connection with the house is veiled by the absence of authority over both children and domestic affairs, though he exercises such authority freely (within the customary limits) in the jacales of his female relatives. There is, indeed, some question as to the clear recognition of paternity; certainly the females have no term for "my father", i. e., the term is the same as that for "my mother", *aw*, though the males distinguish the maternal ancestor by a suffixed syllable (*aw*="my father"; *aw-ta* or *aw-tah*="my mother"), which seems to be a magnificative or an intensificative element. It is noteworthy that the kinship terminology is strikingly meager; also that while the records suggest various significant points, the material is hardly rich enough to warrant complete synthesis of the consanguineal system.

421 While the burden of the more permanent property pertains to the women, there is a decided differentiation of labor with a concomitant vesting of certain property in the warriors—the distinctively masculine chattels comprising arrows, quivers, bows, turtle-harpoons, etc. There are indications that the balsas, too, are regarded as masculine property. The impermanent possessions—water, food, etc.—seem to be the common property of men, women, and children, except in so far as the right is regulated by regimentation; for the privileges of eating and drinking are enjoyed in the order of seniority. In the reckoning of seniority, the chief (who is commonly such in virtue of his position as nominal elder brother of a prolific dame) ranks first, and is followed by other warriors in an order affected in an undetermined way by conjugal relations as well as by their prowess or sagacity (the equivalents of age in primitive philosophy) down to an undetermined point—apparently fixed by puberty; then comes the clanmother, followed by her daughters in the order of nominal age, which is affected by the status of spouses and the number of living offspring; finally come the children, practically in the order of their strength (which also is deemed an equivalent of age), though the girls—especially those

[121] ¹The chief object of the 1893 expedition was to pursue the inquiries concerning social organization, totema, etc.; but, as mentioned elsewhere, this object was deflected by the troublesome history of the tribe during the earlier part of 1893, and the subsequent revival and intensification of their animosity toward aliens.

approaching nubility—receive some advantage through the con-⁵⁵⁴
 nivance of the matrons. To a considerable extent in the matter ⁶⁰²
 of sustentation, and to a dominant degree in the matter of appar-
 elling, the distribution of values is affected by a highly signifi-⁵⁵⁴
 cant (though by no means peculiar) humanitarian notion of inher-⁵⁷⁷
 ent individual rights—i. e., every member of the family or clan is
 entitled to necessary food and raiment, and it is the duty of
 every other person to see that the need is supplied. The stress of
 this duty is graded partly by proximity (so that, other things equal, it
 begins with the nearest person), but chiefly by standing and responsi-
 bility in the group (which again are reckoned as equivalents of age,
 whereby it becomes the business of the first at the feast to see that
 enough is left to supply all below him; and this duty passes down the
 line in such wise as to protect the interests of the helpless infant, and
 even of the tribal good-for-naught or hanger-on, who may gather crumbs
 and lick bones within limits fixed by the tribal consensus. Beyond these
 limits lies outlawry; and this status arises and passes into the tribal ⁶²⁶
 recognition in various ways: Kolusia was outlawed for consociating
 with aliens, and Mashem narrowly missed the same fate at several stages
 of his career; the would-be groom who fails in their moral tests are
 ostracized and at least semi-outlawed, and range about like rogue ele-
 phants, approved targets for any arrow, until they perish through the
 multiplied risks of solitude, or until some brilliant opportunity for display
 of prowess or generosity brings reinstatement; deformed offspring are
 classed as outside the human pale, even when the deformity is defined ^[32]
 rather by occult associations than by physical features; abnormal and
 persistent indolence, too serious for scorn and ostracism to cure, may
 also outpass the tribal toleration; and, as indicated by Mashem's grieved
 expressions and slight additional data, disease, mental aberration, and
 decrepitude are allied with indolence and deemed sufficient reason for
 excluding the persistently helpless from the tribal solidarity, and hence
 from recognized humanity—and the fate of the outlaw, even if nothing
 more severe than abandonment in the desert, is usually sure and swift.
 The entire customs of outlawry among the Seri are singularly like those
 of gregarious animals, including especially kine and swine in domestica-
 tion. Now, studied equity in the distribution of necessities might ¹⁸⁵
 seem to be allied to thrift; but it is noteworthy that this is not so among
 the Seri, who take thought for one another but not for the morrow,
 who seem to have no conception of storage (save an incipient one in
 connection with water and the repulsive notion underlying the "second
 harvest"), and who habitually gorge everything in sight until their
 stomachs and gullets are packed—and then waste the fragments.

The division of labor which affects proprietary interests is almost ⁴⁶²
 entirely affected in turn by the militant habit of the tribe and by the fre-
 quent decimation of the warriors. In general, the adult males limit their
 work to fighting and fishing, with occasional excursions into the hunt

MOORE]

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION

275°

CHIEFSHIP

The unformulated tribal laws of the Seri are intimately connected with leadership, which is, in turn, largely a reflection of personal characteristics; so that the tribal organization is about as variable as that of the practically autonomous herds of cattle ranging the Sonoran plains adjacent to Seriland. Indeed, just as the stock-clans enjoy a precedence on pasturage and at waterholes, determined by the valor and strength of the bulls by which they are led, so the Seri clans appear to be graded by the prowess of their masculine leaders, combined with the sortilegic success of the leaders' consorts; while, just as the leadership of the cattle shifts from band to band as the years go by, according to the fairly equal hazard of natural selection, so the clan dynasties of the human group rise, flourish, and decline in an endless succession shaped by the chances of birth and survival under a capricious environment, by the fate of battles internecine and external, and by various other factors. The instability of the Seri organization is demonstrated by the tribal changes recorded in history, as well as by the vicissitudes within the memory of Señor Encinas and others. At the beginning of the records the Upanguayma were already exiled from Seriland proper and apparently suffering from raids of their colliguales; within a century the Guayma, also, were expatriated and nearly annihilated; then, in the early part of the present century, the Topoka were extruded and (after a series of wars in active progress in Hardy's time) forced far up the coast to one of the poorest habitats ever occupied by any folk. So, too, throughout the Encinas régime the internal dissensions continued whenever the clans were not combined against aliens; and the veteran pioneer has seen much intratribal strife, attended by the rise and passing of many chiefs, both acknowledged and pretended, and often exercising chiefly prerogatives two or three at a time. This instability grows largely out of the fact that the essential unit is the clan, and that the tribe is nothing more than a lax aggregation; and it is measurably explained by the crude customs accompanying the choice of leaders.

As already noted, the clan organization is maternal, and the clan-mother is the central figure of the group; but the executive power resides in her brothers in the order of seniority—i. e., while the personal arrangement of the group is maternal, the appellate administration is fraternal. So far as could be ascertained, the form of government is clearly discriminable from that commonly styled avuncular; for, in the first place, the minor administration accompanying the control of property invests the elderwomen with exceptional legislative and judicative powers, while, in the second place, there are no old men (by reason of the militant habit), so that the reverence for age so assiduously cultivated in primitive life extends to matrons much more than to men.

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